NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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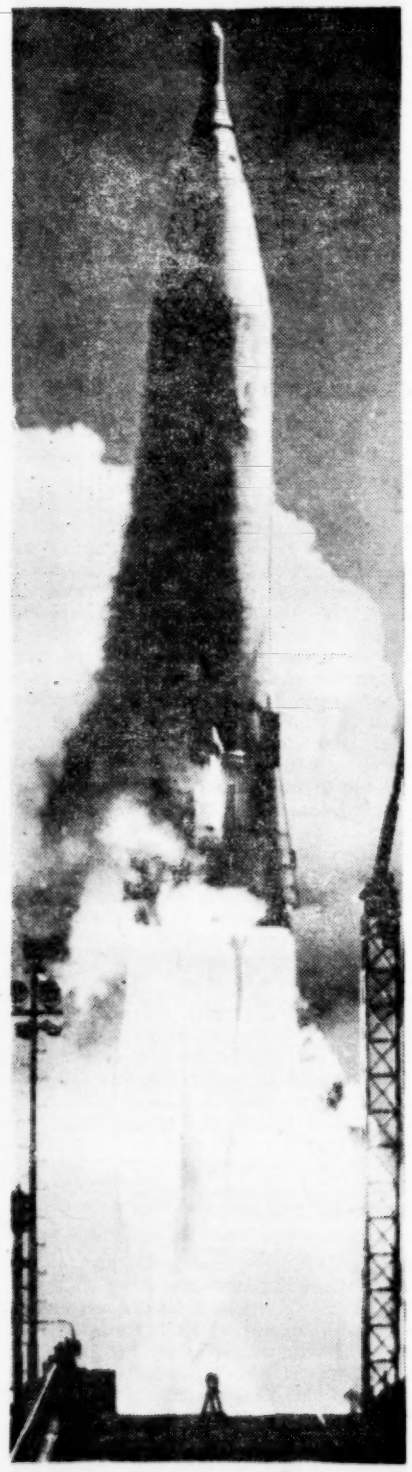
1960 PRESIDENTIAL RACE

The people's choice: Pick the colder of two cold warriors



THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE?

An atlas missile blasts away from Cape Canaveral on a 9,000-mile flight. Nixon and Kennedy say we need more of them. What do you say?

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

CHICAGO

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY at its Chicago convention adopted a program of intensified cold war together with the semblance of a liberal domestic platform. Dominated by Vice President Nixon and New York's Governor Rockefeller, the GOP seemed to turn away from its old guard in an attempt to meet the challenge of the Democratic Party in November.

The main outlines of the Republican campaign are clear:

- Emphasize foreign policy, build up the threat of the Soviet Union and China on all fronts, and assert the superior experience and ability of Nixon and his running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, to meet the cold war crisis.
- Cover up the reactionary and anti-labor Republican record by carefully-phrased generalities slanted in a liberal direction to appeal to the independent, liberal, labor and senior citizen vote.
- Seek to win a large Negro vote in the North by a strong civil rights stand, and a hard attack on Democratic weaknesses on Negro rights, even at the cost of conceding the South to Senator Kennedy and his running mate Senator Johnson.

RATTLING SWORDS: In all the Republican convention speeches and declarations of policy there was not a gesture towards lessening the tensions of the cold war. Instead the convention unleashed a barrage of chauvinistic sword rattling, rabid Soviet baiting, and calls for increased toughness in foreign affairs with more spending for armaments.

The foreign policy platform was an unqualified endorsement of the Eisenhower-Dulles record. It called for maintenance "of an armed power second to none," restated the party's total opposition "to recognition of Communist China and its admission to the United Nations," and pledged the Republicans "to use every peaceful means to help the captive nations toward their independence..."

While expressing concern "about the mounting nuclear arms race," the Republican Platform Committee at the last moment revised its original draft to support resumption of underground nuclear tests and generally sustained "adequate

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IS IT ANOTHER U-2 AFFAIR?

U. S. story on the RB-47 leaves many questions

By Kumar Goshal

DURING THE UN Security Council debate on the Soviet complaint against violation of its air space by a U.S. RB-47 plane, the setting was highly favorable for American chief delegate Henry Cabot Lodge.

He had the aura of almost certain nomination as the Vice Presidential candidate of the Republican Party. He had the cooperation of Air Force experts and cartographers in preparing his reply to the Soviet complaint. Most Council members were pro-U.S. And in the front row of the viistors' gallery, sat the wives of the six crewmen of the RB-47.

Yet Lodge failed to present a convincing case for the U.S. And when the debate ended on July 26, and the majority of the delegates had dutifully voted in favor of the U.S., the vital issues of the dangers inherent in the continuing provocative flights near and over the U.S.S.R. and in the maintenance of U.S. bases overseas remained unresolved.

Eccles, London Daily Worker

WHY WAIT 10 DAYS? On July 11, Moscow asserted in protest notes to the U.S., Britain and Norway, and in a complaint lodged with the UN, that on July 1 a Soviet fighter plane had shot down over Russian territorial waters, within 12 miles of the shore, an RB-47 six-jet reconnaissance bomber plane. The U.S. plane had been missing since July 1, and an intense search had been under way to locate it.

Asked at a press conference why he had waited ten days before announcing the downing of the plane, Premier Khrushchev said he wished to see if the U.S. would offer spurious explanations for the plane's disappearance, as it did in the case of the flight of the U-2.

The Soviet government said the RB-47 had taken off from a U.S. base in Britain on an espionage flight to the Soviet Union, planning to land in Norway on its return. As the plane was heading for Archangel, near the Kola Peninsula, a Soviet fighter plane shot it down after it had ignored signals directing it to land.

Moscow added that two of the plane's crew were rescued after parachuting into the Barents Sea and they would be tried for violating Soviet territory; the body of the chief pilot was recovered (it has since been returned to the U.S.) and the other three were listed as missing.

DANGEROUS CHAIN: At the UN, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov called the earlier U-2 and the RB-47 flights "links in one and the same dangerous chain." He said the surviving crew members had testified that the plane was on "a military intelligence" mission. He asked the Security Council to condemn the flight as an aggressive act.

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15TH ANIVERSARY OF BOMB AUGUST 6

Peace march to UN will recall Hiroshima

"NO MORE HIROSHIMAS" is the official slogan of the peace parade to the United Nations Aug. 6 marking the 15th anniversary of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima.

The march, sponsored by the New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, will leave from Bryant Park (42d St. at Sixth Av.) in Manhattan at 3:15 p.m. Walkers, motorcades, floats and entertainers will join the ranks after demonstrations in various parts of the city and New Jersey.

Actor Theodore Bikel will lead a group of 15 folksingers as part of the Greenwich Village contingent, leaving Washington Square Park at 1 p.m. This group is to march up Fifth Avenue, joined by groups from Jersey, Chelsea, the Lower East Side and Brooklyn. A hundred-car motorcade will drive through Queens with signs calling for universal disarmament and a continuation of the three-power talks in Geneva.

The Lower East Side contingent will meet at the corner of East Broadway and Grand St. at 12 noon before proceeding to Bryant Park and the UN Plaza via Clinton St., Ave. B, 14th St. and Broadway. At the rallying point, they will be joined by walkers from Brooklyn (leaving from Grand Army Plaza) and members of the East Midtown SANE Committee.

Organizations participating in the demonstration include Americans for Democratic Action, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Emma Lazarus Foundation, Committee for Nonviolent Acanin and War Resisters League. Among the union leaders pledging their support are Morris Iushewitz, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council (AFL-CIO) and Anthony Mazzochi, president of Local 149 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Other sponsors include Stanley M. Isaacs, City Councilman; C. Wright Mills, author and educator; Dore Schary, producer; Helen Gahagan Douglas, Rev. A. J. Muste, and Norman Thomas.

NEW LONDON VIGIL: A contingent of the Committee for Nonviolent Action is scheduled to leave N.Y. City Hall at 12 noon. This group will participate in the United Nations rally, and then walk to New London, Conn., for a vigil at the nearby Polaris missile submarine base, which begins Sunday, Aug. 14. A second contingent of the CNVA will leave from the UN Plaza Aug. 7 for the same destination. The committee also plans a peace march from Boston to New London.

For those not involved in the New York and Boston observances, the CNVA plans a special Hiroshima Day vigil in New London-Groton, from 10 a.m., Saturday, Aug. 6, to 10 a.m., Sunday, Aug. 7. Special emphasis will be placed on the participation of parents speaking to parents working at the Boat Yard. Some participants will fast during the 24-hour watch, some will remain at the Yard vigil, while others will take shifts of four hours or longer.

The CNVA vigil which is to begin on

(Continued on Page 4)

Is Adlai willing?

MONTROSE, CALIF.

Millions of Americans must share my astonishment at the clever magicians who railroaded Jack Kennedy into the high spot of candidate for President of these United States of America—right before our very eyes!

Talk about dirty politics, sellouts, this was it. That the Democratic Party betrayed the people will not be denied by anyone. In view of this, let's organize a third party immediately with Adlai Stevenson, the real choice of the people, and prove to ourselves that we are not dead from the neck up. Or shall we drag our feet another four or eight years with the wrong man at the helm? **Pauline Maichel**

Grandiose show

HANEY, B.C.

Watching the Democratic convention on TV, I have not as yet come to a definite conclusion on this grandiose show. However, I have a strong suspicion that it was put on to cover up the backstage appointment of Kennedy for President.

From here as I see it, the delegates got their genius, but had nothing to do with selecting him. He was handed to them nicely wrapped in cellophane.

One could not help to realize that it was obligatory for each speaker to denounce Russia and the Communists in order to be a good American.

P. K. Papeau

SWP petition drive

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Socialist Workers Party is attempting in as many states as possible to provide the voters with an opportunity to express their opposition to the two cold-war parties of big business. Despite limited resources we have already won a place on the ballot in Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania for Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice President.

The key state of New York is among those with particularly unreasonable legal requirements affecting the ballot rights of minority parties. These requirements include a minimum of 50 signatures of registered voters in each of 60 counties and a total of 12,000 in the state as a whole—within a time limt of some four weeks. To meet the usual validity challenges, it is necessary to double the minimum number of signatures.

With sufficient energy and financial help, this can be done, as we proved in the 1958 campaign for the Independent-Socialist ticket. We appeal to each of you who participated in that campaign to join in the effort this year to put Dobbs and Weiss on the ballot. The work begins Aug. 5. The deadline for filing is Sept. 16.

In upstate New York you can help by offering lodging to petitioners for a night or two, by participating in the clerical work connected with the petitions, and by circulating petitions among your friends.

Our main problem is lack of funds. Your contribution may prove decisive in making it possible for New Yorkers to vote for the enduring peace, full equality and economic security that socialism offers.

Write to the Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Committee, 116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Or call AL 5-7852 in New York.

Richard Garza,
New York Chairman,
SWP Campaign Committee

When, when?

MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

Are all the liberals and socialists united now behind Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, the man from Texas who tries to slow up progressive legislation? Are we all set to unite behind Kennedy of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill, who voted against a strong civil rights act, who voted for funds for McCarthy and naturally did not join in his censure?

All socialists and liberals are now asked once again to campaign for the Democratic Party even though it is now the party of the Southern feudalists, the Northern munition-makers and missiles-manufacturers, and the party of the clerical fascists.

Even though the Republicans may now be the lesser of two evils, all liberals and socialists must support the Democrats, so they say, because after all, the trade union leaders support the Democrats.

I have always said socialists and liberals should support some Democrats. But when are the socialists and liberals going to shuck off their stupidity and stop supporting the reactionary, proto-fascist Democratic Party under such a reactionary, bigoted, right-wing, war-mongering leadership as Kennedy and Johnson? When will we start building a party of decency, honor and progress?

(Rev.) Hugh Weston

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

When a photographer posed bunch of the visiting Georgian State Dancers on the court house steps Monday afternoon a functionary rushed out of the building and curtly asked the photographer, "Have you permission to do this?" . . . .

Same scene a few minutes later. Dancers were perched around the stairway lions. Little Old Lady rushed up from among the bystanders and shrieked, "It's disgraeful—those Russians standing on the British Lions!"

—The **Vancouver Sun**, 5/10/60

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R.N., Victoria, B.C., Canada

Nuclear nullity

BRIXHAM, ENG.

Military expert Captain Liddell Hart debunks the pro-H-bomb policy of Hugh Gaitskell and his supporters in the Labor Party in these words:

"The natural consequence of nuclear parity is nuclear nullity . . . There are no degrees of importance in the matter of suicide."

Anyone who read this remarkable book, (**Deterrent or Defense**, Stevens & Sons, London) can claim to be as well-informed as it is possible to be without actually being a brass-hat.

Rhoda Clarke

Dyad, London Daily Worker
"Did you bring the fall-out ointment?"

Cuban Defense Committee

STANFORD, CALIF.

Here at Stanford a few students have formed the Cuban Defense Comittee, with the aim of spreading the truth about the Cuban Revolution and arguing for its support. We welcome letters from people who have been to Cuba. The Cubans are our brothers and we must help them.

Lawrence Shumm
Box 7064
Stanford University

Happy birthday, Scott!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Here's a contribution to honor Scott Nearing, a great humanist, on his 77th birthday, Aug. 6. Internationally-known author, lecturer and social radical, his contributions to a better world have been great. **Mildred Kaufman**

Insulting offer

NEW YORK, N.Y.

What an insult to a human being is the offer of a bomb shelter (with every chance it will be shattered by a guided missile) instead of a clearcut policy to achieve peace—peace even at any price! Today!

Lillian Innes

Having wonderful time

WEST ORANGE, N.J.

We would like you to know that we are very pleased and happy with a lovely bungalow rented from one of your advertisers, Halpern's Bungalow Colony in Kerhonkson, N.Y.

It is a perfect place for a nice vacation and very reasonable, so we are douoly grateful to you.

Mrs. Emil Bardach

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

FOR 100 YEARS New York City's Union Square has been used as a public forum by anyone who wanted to get up and speak his mind. Last week, for the first time in a century, a ban was placed on free speech there by Mayor William O'Dwyer and his police department which was upheld by a State Supreme Court judge. But New Yorkers, variously estimated at 2,000 to 15,000, defied the ban to asemble under the sponsorship of the New York Labor Conference for Peace.

What was intended as a solemn plea for an end to war was turned into a bloody shambles of violence by 1,000 police—the greatest concentration ever brought together in New York to deny the right of assembly. Veteran newsmen were shocked at the brutality. Sid Kline of the New York **Daily Compass** wrote:

"I have just seen friendly, bantering policemen transformed in a matter of minutes into fiery, hate-filled zealots, clubbing punching, kicking, and in some cases riding down with horses, men and women . . . . There was, I believe, a will to murder in their hearts and they lashed out, I believe, with sadistic joy. As I write this I am sick at heart. . . ."

For an hour and 20 minutes the demonstrators held what ground they could against the cops mounted and on foot. When they were finally dispersed from Union Square some assembled further uptown at Madison Square—only to suffer the same violence.

It was imposible to compile a total of all hurt and injured, but by-standing women screamed and men were nauseated at the beatings they witnessed. . . .

—From the National Guardian, August 9, 1950.

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REPORT TO READERS

So THIS is Cuba!

The following was cabled from Havana by the GUARDIAN's General Manager John T. McManus, who, with his wife Jane, led a tour of 100 GUARDIAN readers through Cuba. The group arrived in Havana in time for the July 26 celebrations and was to return to the U.S. Aug. 6:

HAVANA

WHAT A WEEK! Premier Fidel Castro was cheered by close to 1,000,000 people when he arrived by helicopter on July 26 in Las Mercedes in the Sierra Maestra mountains of Oriente province. For three days preceding the celebration, despite heavy rains, a steady stream of trucks, buses and cars came up the mountains. Peasants from surrounding foothills and mountains converged on Las Mercedes on foot and on horseback. In Havana business was at a standstill as thousands left for the Sierra Maestra.

Castro told a rally of more than 500,000 persons at Camilio Cienfuegos Scholastic City that the Cuban revolution would set an example for all Latin American countries. He pledged to "continue making of our country the example which shall convert the mountain ranges of the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of the American continent." He also promised that the Cuban peasant would never again be exploited. In connection with the celebration 1,912 land titles previously owned by landlords were distributed to peasants.

Everywhere the island echoed, "Que Viva Cuba" (Long Live Cuba) and "Viva Fidel." The peasants' thatched **bohios** (huts) bore signs, "Fidel, Es Su Casa" (Fidel is welcome in this house). Banners referred to the well-understood sugar situation: "Sin Cuota Pero Sin Amo, Venceremos" (Without a quota but without a master, we will win).

OUR GROUP HAS BEEN ON THE GO since we arrived. We found that **amigos de Cuba** are welcome everywhere. We spent July 26 on a cooperative in Pinar Del Rio, 100 miles west of Havana. We have also visited a workers' housing project and colorful beach developments.

We are most impressed by the tremendous strides in rehabilitating needful people. We saw schools for neglected teen-age girls, sanitaria for the aged and orphans' homes which were converted from private estates.

Part of our group went to the Isle of Pines and they report that what once was a playground for the rich has become a treasure island for all.

Our hotel in Havana, Rosita de Hornedo, exceeds the travel folder description in beauty. It was built by publisher Alfredo Hornedo, who now lives in Miami, and was expropriated by the government. It is run by its employes.

The GUARDIAN tourists agreed that the July 26 visit to the cooperative was worth the whole trip. But then they said the same thing after the visit to the housing and beach projects.

WE WERE IMPRESSED by the speech to the Congress of Latin American Youth by Che Guevara, head of the national bank and guiding genius of Cuba's new economy. He said that if he were asked whether Cuba's revolution was communist, he would answer that the revolution looked for methods along pathways indicated by Marx. But he recalled that Soviet First Deputy Minister Mikoyan recently called the Cuban revolution a phenomenon Marx could not have foreseen.

The GUARDIAN group on July 26 saw **campesinos** proudly holding king-size titles to land in Pinar Del Rio. One told us he had worked the land for seven years and his father had worked it before him, but they had never received a handful of land or anything from it they could call their own.

The GUARDIAN group can confirm Guevara's statement that when the Cuban revolution speaks it is possible it may be mistaken, but never does it tell a lie. **—John T. McManus**

A TRAGEDY MARRED THE GUARDIAN tour to Cuba. One of the tourists, Mike Krawec of Waterford, Ontario, died of a fractured skull after diving into a hotel pool which he did not know was being drained. He received immediate medical attention but he was dead on reaching the hospital. Krawec, 42, was a small rancher who joined the tour because of his deep interest in cooperative farming. All on the tour as well as the hotel employes were grief stricken. Krawec's body was sent to his family for burial.

A RADIO COMMENTARY BY THE GUARDIAN'S EDITOR

How responsible is the American press?

Following are excerpts from a commentary by James Aronson, GUARDIAN editor, given over radio station WBAI-FM in New York on June 28. The subject was: "How responsible is the American press?"

By James Aronson

LET ME SAY at the outset that I am and have been for 24 years—the exact span of my working career—a practicing newspaperman. In that sense, if not an expert, I feel at least qualified to express opinions and make certain judgments of my chosen craft. And against this background I will say, with some minor qualifications and some exceptions, that the newspapers of the United States are woefully failing in their function of public service and the shaping of honest public opinion. I shall try, in this commentary, to say why I feel this way, concentrating in good part on foreign affairs because I believe the issue of peace to be paramount today.

But first a little background:

Under the protection of the First Amendment, 1,760 newspapers circulate daily in the United States with a combined circulation of about 57,000,000. In 1958, we readers paid out one and one-half billion dollars to buy these papers—daily and Sunday.

American business and industry in that year paid well over three billion dollars to the publishers for space for advertising.

While the number of papers may seem impressive, it represents a decline of almost 500 from the peak of 2,200 daily papers published in our country in 1900. And every year since the turn of the century, more persons have been reading fewer papers in turn controlled by fewer publishers.

THERE ARE, for example, about 1,400 cities with one newspaper only, or with newspapers under a single ownership. In only 64 cities is there daily newspaper competition. In Chicago there are now only four daily newspapers owned by two publishers.

Now, one of the reasons for the growing concentration of American newspaper ownership is rising costs and the economic squeeze that results from these costs. But another and extremely important factor is the disappearance of the two-party press—because of the increasing similarity of the major political parties. It is hard indeed these days to pin a political label on a Senator Johnson, who sounds like President Eisenhower, or a Governor Rockefeller, whose speeches could have been written by Senator Kennedy's ghost.

With this kind of single-minded boilerplated journalism there has arisen an odd tendency on the part of many newspapers to describe themselves as independent. A more apt label would be collectively reactionary. Dissent rarely exists, except in an occasional letter to the editor, an unusual column by a commentator who insists on maintaining his integrity (I think of Walter Lippmann during the recent U-2 and Summit debacle), an occasional editorial by a stubborn editorial writer.

At this point it should be said that the old radical magazine cartoon showing the big advertiser coming to the publisher's office, and telling him what to print, is an outmoded myth. The advertiser doesn't have to come. The publisher identifies himself with the advertiser, and, more likely than not, he's got a big chunk of stock in the advertiser's company. So he's not going to tell himself off. In a society in which it takes a millionaire to own a newspaper, the newspaper naturally reflects the views of the millionaire.

OF COURSE there are variations on the theme. Even millionaires are human, and a few newspapers in this country at times reflect the humanistic feelings of their more enlightened proprietors. I think of the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** and the New York **Post**; of the San Francisco **Chronicle** and the Washington **Post.** I don't know that the owner of the **Gazette and Daily** of York, Pennsylvania, is a millionaire but he puts out a damn good paper.

But these—and a few others—are the exceptions. And one can safely say that the American press, while it is owned by many different persons, however dwindling their number, has assumed an attitude of stifling conformity which is demonstrated with alarming clarity in the handling of the major questions of our time.

The basic tenet of American journalism today, from the publishers down through most of the reporters on the beat—if they have a tenet—is this: The American way of life and capitalism are to be equated with beauty, virtue and godliness; the Soviet way of life and socialism are to be equated with ugliness, dishonesty and the devil. Within this concept publisher, editor and reporter enjoy full freedom of the press. It may not be the way the framers of the First Amendment envisioned it, but there it is.

Photo by Edmund Y. Lee

STRIKERS MAN A PICKET LINE BEFORE THE PORTLAND (ORE.) JOURNAL
When the Newhouse chain (17 dailies) hit their town, they were freed from the Press

Within this concept also there has inevitably grown up a cult of the sacred cow which includes the following:

- The Federal Bureau of Investigation, and its sacrosanct director of 25 years standing, who directs a vast network of witch-hunting agents with imperial authority.
- The Central Intelligence Agency, headed by Allen Welsh Dulles, whose latest adventures over the Soviet Union should have grounded him for good.
- The National Association of Manufacturers and other lobbies of American industry, to most of which the American publishers belong.
- The American Medical Association and the vast drug combines who, at the mention of a public health plan, see the **Communist Manifesto** engraven on every aspirin tablet.

- The Catholic Church which, as an opinion molder and a property owner, is every day increasing its influence.

There are many more.

BUT AT THE OTHER END of the pole, there are groups about whom nothing is sacred for the American press. Chief among these are the radical movement, which has been just about hounded out of organized existence, and the organized peace groups whose campaigns for nuclear sanity and relaxed international tension have been met with silence or open hostility by the majority of the American press.

How many newspapers, for example, have protested the political persecution of people with unpopular beliefs—from the Smith Act on down? Does anyone of good will doubt today that the McCarthy balloon would have been punctured long before McCarthyism became a dirty word—if the press had treated McCarthy as the distortion he was? How many Americans living outside a few metropolitan centers know that three persons are in prison for having been judged in contempt of Congress for believing in and invoking the First Amendment? And that 30 more—including at least three newspapermen—still face prison?

I would say that the average American today does not know that several dozens of worthwhile books written from a radical or progressive point of view are published each year in our country. These books are ignored by book review editors or, when they are believed likely to get an audience by word of mouth, are turned over to intellectual hatchet men who may be relied on to chop them to bits. These same high-minded hacks are called in to review and rave over books which call for the preservation of our way of life as we know it, under God, in the Western world, and consign any new ideas to oblivion. If you dispute this statement, look at the Book Review sections next Sunday. And for half a dozen Sundays thereafter.

NOW LET'S TURN for a bit to the men who write the news. Do they hold with the publishers of the papers they work for? I would say that a good many of them do not, but they will not question the politics or the prejudices of their publishers if it means any kind of sacrifice for principle. What they do believe in I can no longer say. Once I thought I knew. In some there is a good measure of malevolence. In others it's stupidity—don't ever sell stupidity short. In too many others whom I know to be intelligent it's apathy and cynicism born of the easy-way-out philosophy.

For all the surface brilliance and technical know-how of the American press—and they are there—its reporting and interpretation of the news is superficial. And when it is not superficial it too often is downright distorted and dishonest. You need look no further than Cuba for a masterpiece of distortion.

In a talk before the Overseas Press Club, Herbert L. Matthews, a member of the editorial board of the New York **Times** and a former correspondent in Latin America, said this: "In all my 36 years in journalism, I have never seen a worse job of reporting than during the last three weeks in Cuba." [He was referring to the events following the revolution.] He went on: "Correspondents on the scene showed an abysmal ignorance of the whole background, whereas anyone could have learned the truth at any time."

I might add to Mr. Matthews: "If they had wanted to." And add further that the reporting and commenting on Cuba has steadily worsened since he spoke. Mr. Matthews must have a hard time on his own paper.

TAKE THE FAR EAST for a moment. During the recent events in Japan, most of the reporters on the scene played it straight. It would be hard to deny the fact of what they were witnessing. But their editors back home apparently had no faith in them. For they almost unanimously decreed that the demonstrations, participated in by several hundred thousand students, and endorsed by the 125 anti-Communist Socialist members of the Japanese Diet, and by the 3,000,000 members of the non-Communist labor federation—they decreed that these demonstrations were the work of the 3,000-member Japanese Communist Party.

And the New York **Herald Tribune** dredged up a lulu from Warren Rogers of its Washington bureau. This story had couriers in the guise of Chinese Red Cross emissaries, and Soviet ballet dancers, smuggling a million dollars in yen and rubles into Japan, apparently spliced into band-aids and wedged in the toes of ballet slippers, to finance the supposedly Communist-led demonstrations.

SOME DAY a full and penerating study of journalism in the United States will be written. It will have to document the irresponsible action of the American press in encouraging the continuation of the tension and the fear that has pervaded our country for the last decade and more. It will have to determine

what happened to the working press and why—decent men and women who have acquiesced in this terrifying process without question. It will have to do many more things—but a full chapter will have to be devoted to a cynical profession which has accepted the Gospel according to St. James Hagerty, and, in one of the colossal frauds of our time, has taken a bumbling West Point mediocrity and fashioned him in the image of a Great Leader.

When such a study is undertaken, perhaps the soul-searching will start. And then we may begin to hear some rumblings in the newspaper shops which will not be caused by the presses alone.

The people's choice

(Continued from Page 1)

safeguards" as an acceptable excuse for failure to stop tests and achieve nuclear disarmament.

"OUR GREATEST TASK": The platform declared that "the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has demonstrated its willingness to negotiate in earnest with the Soviet Union to arrive at just settlements for the reduction of world tensions. We pledge the new Administration to continue in the same course."

But this declaration was nullified by the overwhelming theme of the overall policy statement: "We confront today the global offensive of communism, increasingly aggressive and violent in its enterprises. The agency of that offensive is Soviet policy, aimed at the subversion of the world . . . . To nullify the Soviet conspiracy is our greatest task."

Although the platform statement on national defense called for more arms without "any price ceiling," and "making certain that our arms and, our will to use them, remain superior to all threats," Rockefeller and his supporters were not satisfied. They wanted a more extreme statement of the cold war crisis and more emphasis on the lag in American preparation for war.

THE BOYS AGREE: The most significant Republican document on national defense and foreign policy was the agreement between Nixon and Rockefeller on the eve of the convention. This joint declaration stated that "the growing vigor and aggressiveness of communism demands new and profound effort and action in all areas of American life . . . . The two imperatives of national security in the 1960's are: (a) A powerful second-strike capacity—a nuclear retaliatory power capable of surviving surprise attack to inflict devastating punishment on any aggressor, and, (b) A modern flexible and balanced military establishment

Herblock, Washington Post

Ghost writer

Wall St. Journal

"And when your child presses this button the top of the globe blows off in a small mushroom cloud."

with forces capable of deterring or meeting any local aggression."

Nixon and Rockefeller made their goal most specific:

"More and improved bombers, airborne alert, speeded production of missiles and Polaris submarines, accelerated dispersal and hardening of bases, full modernization of the equipment of our ground forces, and an intensified program for civil defense."

Rockefeller—and Kennedy in urging a similar Democratic Party program—has called for raising the annual arms budget by $3.5 billions. The Nixon-Rockefeller joint statement was less concrete: "The United States can afford and must provide the increased expenditure to implement fully this necessary program for strengthening our defense posture. There must be no price ceiling on America's security."

CHIANG'S MAN LEADS OFF: The propaganda setting for the Republican program of more arms and more cold war was furnished by a stream of convention speakers. Rep. Walter H. Judd (Minn.) led the way in his keynote address. Judd, the China Lobby's chief spokesman in Congress, laid down the line to the cheering delegates:

"Surely it is now plain to all that since the communist world conspiracy remains the same, and since we don't intend to surrender, and since nobody wants a hot war, there is only one alternative left. **We must win this cold war.** To do this we must have leaders who understand this enemy and its tactics, and will mobilize all our resources for the struggle."

Judd referred to the U-2 flights, as "brilliant examples of successful initiative . . . If we had **not** developed the U-2 and had not been using it to keep up to date on military preparations within the Soviet Union, we could properly have been charged with inviting another Pearl Harbor . . . . The U-2's were not provoking war, they were helping to prevent war."

Walter Judd carefully stands history on its aching head

REP. WALTER JUDD of Minnesota, in the course of his speech nominating Henry Cabot Lodge as the Republican Vice Presidential candidate, said:

"I speak carefully now when I say that I believe Richard Nixon is the best prepared, the best equipped, the best tested and the best proved candidate the American people have had the chance to vote for for their President since George Washington."

WHY LODGE WAS PICKED: The choice of Lodge, U.S. chief delegate to the United Nations, as the Republican Vice Presidential nominee was a clear sign of the party's intention to emphasize foreign policy in the campaign. In the caucus of Republican leaders on July 28, when the Vice Presidential candidate was selected, two-time Presidential candidate Thomas E. Dewey served as chairman and argued for Lodge on the ground that he will "make the people happy. He . . . would put the emphasis on foreign policy, where it should be." Nixon endorsed this view. Illinois Governor William G. Stratton, and several Congressmen and Senators who felt domestic matters should have greater emphasis, were defeated.

Judd said in his keynote: "The man who will be nominated in this convention as our candidate will be incomparably the best qualified to deal with the relentless cold war which we have tried our best to avoid, but which we now have no choice except to win. It has been said by Mr. Kennedy that the most important issue in this campaign is foreign policy. We agree and welcome the test."

Since both the Republican and Democratic parties have now dedicated themselves to intensified cold war, and increased arms spending, the campaign issue presumably is which candidates and which party can most effectively effect this policy. The Republicans claim the job on the basis of superior skill and experience.

CIVIL RIGHTS PLANK. The main GOP convention controversy was over the civil rights issue. Originally the Platform Committee had prepared a limited statement. This was countered by the Rockefeller demand endorsed by Nixon, for a much stronger plank. The joint Nixon-Rockefeller statement said.

"Our program for civil rights must assure aggressive action to remove the remaining vestiges of segregation or discrimination in all areas of national life—voting and housing, schools and jobs. It will express support for the objectives of the sit-in demonstrators . . ."

After considerable back-stage maneuvering and pressure the weak original draft was ordered reconsidered by a Platform Committee vote of 50 to 35.

The resulting plank was a compromise. It declared general support for the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation, pledged action and new legislation to guarantee the right to vote, school desegregation, and elimination of discrimination in employment, housing, public facilities and services. The platform also called for changing Senate Rule 22 to eliminate filibusters, and indirectly approved the sit-in-demonstrations by saying, "We reaffirm the constitutional right to peaceably assemble to protest discrimination in private business establishments."

THE SOUTH TAKES IT: Rockefeller said the compromise did not go as far as he would have liked, especially in regard to approval of the sit-ins. However, he concluded that it was still "the finest, strongest civil rights plank ever drawn." Mr. Nixon went along. He said: "It is strong, it is attainable."

The Southern Republicans grumbled a bit, but some even expressed satisfaction on the mildness of the compromise, and the threat of an open fight on the issue evaporated. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, praised both the Democratic and the Republican civil rights stands as "far ahead of those chosen four years ago." Mr. Wilkins said he felt that the Democratic plank was "stronger and more comprehensive" than the Republican plank. The New York **Times** held that the Republicans were "more realistic and specific."

NEGRO DEMONSTRATION: Behind the progress on the civil rights plank were the effective pressures of the Negroes for action. When the Republican convention opened July 25 a March for Freedom Now demonstration by 10,000 people converged on the convention hall. The rally was addressed by the March leaders, Rev. Martin Luther King and AFL-CIO Vice-President A. Philip Randolph. A token picket line continued on a 24-hour basis throughout the convention.

When the extraordinary post conventions session of Congress convenes—the Senate was to meet Aug. 8 and the House Aug. 15—the public will have a most unusual opportunity to test the platform pledges of both parties. Negro leaders have already announced their determination to seek civil rights legislative action in accord with the platform promises.

Congress also has yet to act on several important pieces of social legislation, including improvements in the minimum wage and hour law, social security and medical care for the aged.

Hiroshima march

(Continued from Page 1)

Sunday, Aug. 14, at Electric Boat will draws on groups from all over New England. For detailed information write or phone Polaris Action, 13 North Bank St., New London, Conn., GI 2-6691.

MILWAUKEE RALLY: "No More Hiroshimas" was also the major theme of a meeting sponsored by the Milwaukee SANE Committee, scheduled for Aug. 6 at the Milwaukee Auditorium. Listed as speakers are Dr. William C. Davidon, theoretical physicist at Argonne National Laboratories; Ralph Koenig, educational director of the United Auto Workers Region No. 10, and the Rev. Curtis Crawford, teacher at New York University and lecturer and writer on arms control.

Peacemakers' Workshop Aug. 20 to Sept. 4

A 16-DAY STUDY of "nonviolent direct action to challenge injustice" will be conducted by the Peacemakers at the former Manumit School, Cornwells Heights, Pa., from Aug. 20 to Sept. 4.

Nonviolent methods will be explored in discussions and workshops in direct action. Twenty-two faculty members include Anne and Carl Braden, field secretaries for the Southern Conference Educational Fund; David Dellinger, an editor of **Liberation**; the Rev. Maurice McCrackin, Cincinnati minister who spent six months in jail for refusing to pay income taxes; and Fred Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala., minister.

On Saturday and Sunday, Aug. 20 and 21, a preliminary discussion and introduction to nonviolence will be followed by planning and carrying out a "simple action" such as a lunch-counter sit-in or entering a jimcrow swimming pool.

From Monday, Aug. 22, to Thursday, Aug. 25, the subject of violence will be considered in its economic, political, psychological and social terms. "The Resistance to the Old Society" will be discussed on Friday and Saturday, Aug. 26 and 27.

Peacemakers describes itself as "a grass-roots movement which advocates radical action to undermine the war system . . . and to replace it with constructive relationships." The group estimates that costs of the Training Program will average between $2 and $3 per day.

Applications may be obtained from Hal Witt, 802 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

IN JUNE THESE PEACE MARCHERS WENT 125 MILES ON FOOT

They set out from New York and demonstrated in New London

THE PLACE WHERE PROTESTS BEGAN ENDS JIMCROW LUNCH COUNTERS

Greensboro gives in but sit-ins stir violence elsewhere

By Ramona Lowe

GREENSBORO, N.C., has witnessed a major victory for civil rights. In this town, where the sit-in demonstrations began spontaneously last Feb. 1, the Kress and Woolworth stores at last opened their lunch counters to Negroes July 25.

But just about the same time, in South Carolina, fights broke out between white and Negro spectators watching sit-in demonstrations in Columbia, Greenville and Spartanburg. The Rev. S. J. Hall, Jr., chairman of Greenville CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) and leader of the sit-ins there, said the students were not involved in the violence and would continue their activities. The national office of CORE in New York seemed confident that the struggle in the South Carolina towns, like Greensboro, would end in "a victory for the non-violent, direct action approach to race relations."

Although the sit-in demonstrations by the students in the South began with no expectation of organizational backing, the NAACP, the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE have given valuable legal, educational and financial help to the demonstrators.

WHAT CORE IS: CORE, because of its long established program of non-violence, was perhaps best equipped to give immediate guidance. Organized in Chicago in April, 1942, its aim has been to abolish racial discrimination by direct non-violent methods. Called on for help when the sit-ins started in Greensboro, the organization immediately dispatched Gordon Carey, a field secretary. Later, Carey travelled through the South making available CORE materials where they were requested.

Most of the Negro sit-inners had never heard of CORE and many are still wary. The Los Angeles **Herald-Dispatch**, a Negro weekly, recently complained that CORE's non-violence is reserved for Negro situations and does not apply to whites. CORE, however, has effectively integrated its activities and has organized numerous Northern white picket lines in front of chain stores that have segregated lunch counters in the South.

GREENSBORO, N.C.: THEY WERE NOT MOVED UNTIL THE VICTORY WAS WON

The latest demonstrations in Greenville were interracial. In mid-July eight Negro students were arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct" for sitting-in at the public library. On July 18 Rev. Hall led a mixed group of 50 from the courthouse, when the trial was postponed, to sit-in at the lunch counters of Woolworth, Kress, W. T. Grant and H. L. Green. When white hoodlums threatened the students Rev. Hall invited them to hit him instead, but warned that he would not strike back. The whites then turned their attacks on Negro bystanders.

BOSTON SIT-IN: Earlier last month Rev. Hall, A. J. Whittenberg, chairman of the Greenville NAACP, and James McCain, CORE field secretary, sat in the "whites only" lounge at the airport in the face of threatened arrest if they did not move. The lounge is the same one which was barred to Jackie Robinson last year.

The most recent CORE-sponsored action in the North is a sit-in at the Woodvale Housing Development on the outskirts of Boston. Negro applicants have been sitting in the agent's office at the development with white CORE members on the line outside. Samuel A. Valente, attorney for the housing development, at first called the police and asked them to remove the CORE members, all of whom were interested in buying homes. The police refused.

The Woodvale demonstration grew out of a two-year effort by Ulysses G. Marshall, a Negro, to buy a home there. In June he asked CORE for assistance.

WHAT THEY BELIEVE: At the 18th annual CORE convention in St. Louis July 2, the organization passed the following resolution which explains its activities:

"Segregation is wrong; We cannot accept—we cannot compromise with this evil. The CORE staff and members of CORE groups should not accept segregation in any form. If this means that local officals should jail us then so be it. We must face the threat of jail with courage, determination and fortitude. The acceptance of jail and suffering for a just and ethical cause cannot help but stir the concern and conscience of the uncommitted."

To implement this belief CORE is conducting an Interracial Action Institute in Miami, Aug. 14 to Sept. 5. The theme is: "'Learn nonviolence through using it in action." Institute members, who pay $150 for the course, will take part in testing eating places, theaters, beaches, etc. CORE officials think it will help prepare those who attend for appropriate action in the fall.

The RB-47 story

(Continued from Page 1)

Lodge heatedly denied the espionage charges, said "the plane was on an electromagnetic observation flight." He dramatically displayed a map which he said had tracked the plane's flight up to the very moment when it was downed. He insisted that the U.S. knew the exact spot where the plane had gone down; and the map, he said, showed that the plane was never less than 30 miles from the Soviet shore. He refused to divulge the "secret" device used to track the plane's flight.

Friell, London Evening Standard

"Of course, there's bound to be some Russian spies here as we are so far ahead in the horticultural race!"

THE PEEKING TRAWLER: The U.S. delegate accused the Soviet Union of espionage by sending trawlers close to the U.S. shore. He said that in April, 1960, American ships had noticed a Soviet trawler 150 miles off the Massachusetts coast while a U.S. nuclear submarine was conducting tests and had warned the trawler to stay clear of the area. Lodge asked in the name of "the wives and families" of the crewmen for more information about those missing, demanded release of the two survivors and called on the UN to set up an "impartial commission" to inquire into the whole affair.

Kuznetsov asked why the U.S. failed to send rescuers immediately to the spot, if it knew exactly where the plane had gone down, instead of spending seven days in futile search. He opposed a commission of inquiry, calling it merely a means to "bottle up" the issue. He stressed that American wives and families would have no cause for grief if the U.S. renounced provocative and dangerous espionage flights.

On July 26, the Soviet resolution was defeated by a 9-2 Council vote; Poland alone supported the Soviet Union. The U.S. resolution, receiving the same vote in reverse, also lost out, since the negative Soviet vote had the effect of a veto.

LIKE THE U-2 CASE: To neutral observers Lodge's case seemed unconvincing because U.S. reaction to the plane's disappearance—prior to Moscow's statement that it had been shot down—had been similar to its first reaction to the U-2 disappearance. Moreover, there had been little effort in the U.S. to conceal the real purpose of the plane's flight.

Newsweek said (July 25) that "U.S. Air Force officials were caught on the wrong foot" by the Soviet disclosure of downing the plane. It reported that one day before the Soviet announcement, "a high Air Force official" had totally discounted the possibility of the RB-47's being shot down. He attributed the plane's disappearance to possible "engine trouble." Contradictory reports about the plane's course appeared during the search. After the Soviet statement, according to **Newsweek**, a top Pentagon officer said: "We have no way of knowing exactly where the RB-47 went down."

IT'S NO SECRET: There was evidence that the U.S. was continuing and planned to continue indefinitely espionage flights towards the Soviet Union. Before the Soviet announcement, **Time** noted (July 18): "The official Pentagon explanation was that the plane was on a routine 'electromagnetic survey,' but the Air Force made no secret of the fact that the RB-47 was part of the continuing U.S. probing of Soviet radar and radio communications."

Newsweek said that "electromagnetic survey" was a "cover" for the RB-47's top secret assignments—code named "Course X Ray"—which included search for Soviet radar stations and measuring their frequencies, and photographing "any ICBM bases in the Kola Peninsula." It quoted a high official as saying: "There is no question that we must make these peripheral flights, regardless of the dangers . . . . We'll just have to do a better job in the future."

THE RINGING BELLS: The British press noted with dismay that U.S. Air Force chief Gen. Thomas D. White had admitted in an interview in **U.S. News & World Report** (July 18) that U.S. bombers are deliberately sent near the Russian radar screens as a warning to the Russians. The London **Tribune** reported (July 22) that, without the knowledge of British officials (including Prime Minister Macmillan), "the U.S. training flights from British bases regularly involve what is known as 'ringing the Russian bells'."

Lodge's reference to the Soviet trawler was unfortunate. As the **Nation** noted (July 23), "trawlers don't travel at 600 mph and are not usually thought of as suitable vehicles for H-bombs." Furthermore, the trawler Lodge referred to was 150 miles from U.S. shore.

The U.S., in fact, pays no attention to off-shore limits in its defense set up. An Air Defense Identification Zones (ADIZ) map shows that the U.S. air defense zone extends from American shores 250 miles eastward across the Atlantic, and more than 300 miles westward across the Pacific (map is available for five cents from U.S. Dept. of Documents, Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C.). Foreign planes approaching the U.S. must file flight plans before entering ADIZ.

WE SET THE LIMITS: In the February, 1959 issue of the **Journal of the Judge Advocate General** of the Navy, devoted to space law, State Dept. legal advisor Loftus Becker wrote:

"The U.S. has never considered that it is limited in the protection of its security interests to the air space above our territory and territorial waters. For example, we have established coastal air defense identification zones extending 200 and even 500 miles from our shores although our territorial sea is only three miles in breadth."

In the jet and nuclear age, there is no less danger between 12 miles and 30 miles from a nation's shoreline. The only sane way to eliminate the chances of war by accident is to eliminate the espionage flights and the bases from which they are launched.

Macmillan, in his note rejecting the Soviet protest, said to Khrushchev: "I simply do not understand what your purpose is today." The London **New Statesman** commented (July 23):

"If Macmillan is really at a loss, he should consider the simple hypothesis that Russia is anxious to wind up the Cold War and usher in the era of peaceful competition if, and only if, the West is ready, after due bargaining, to make real stragetic concessions . . . . In a continuing Cold War we are bound to be the losers."

BOOKS

Sartre on freedom and history

OF THE THREE plays which appear in the latest translation of Sartre's works,* **The Devil and the Good Lord** most successfully dramatizes his long-standing concern with the nature of freedom and the ironies of history.

Sartre has placed his philosophical problems in the context of 16th century Germany, but their actual milieu is that of contemporary French intellectual life. Through the drumbeats of the Peasant War, an alert audience will hear arguments, pro and con, for the efficacy of belief or the liberating force of disillusion, for the power of universal love or the justification of the means by the end, for the pursuit of personal salvation or the acceptance of the conditions of the class struggle.

With his considerable theatrical skill, Sartre holds us in suspense as to the depths of evil to which a character will descend or the manner in which a good intention may result in the worst disaster. But one sometimes suspects that the satanic drives and the events turned into their opposites are more arbitrary than historically rooted, and that they actually represent unresolved conflicts in the playwright's own thinking.

THE PLAY'S protagonist is named Goetz, but he bears little resemblance to the knight Goetz von Berlichingen, who deserted the peasants' cause in their fight against the bishops and princes. Nor is he, like the hero of Goethe's play, representative of the lesser nobility's losing contest with the emperor and dukes.

When he betrays his brother to the troops of the Archbishop, threatens to turn his mistress over to the soldiers for a mass rape, or toys with the thought of slaughtering all the inhabitants of the city of Worms, it is neither his own nor his class's interest that motivates him, only the simple choice to commit evil.

Piqued by the taunt that his actions are hardly unique, he decides to raise his siege of the town and thenceforth to devote himself to doing good, while offering no resistance to evil for fear of unforeseen consequences. He frees his own serfs and establishes them in a community where brotherly love is to reign supreme, only to find that he has aroused his fellow barons to fury, tempted the peasants in the surrounding territory to premature revolt, and finally brought about the destruction of his "City of the Sun" by the rebels from another town whose ranks his tamed former subjects refused to join. He is led at last by the plebeian revolutionary, Nasti, to give up his utopian fantasy—as well as his reliance upon God—and to take command as the ruthless captain of an army over which he has, and exercises, the power of life and death.

THIS HAPPY outcome is qualified by the realization that Goetz's very commitment and position of leadership leave him as estranged from his fellows as Sartre's truly free man is from the "unauthentic" humans who must depend, if not on authority, then at least on circumstance to influence their choices. Goetz is, in fact, something of an existentialist.

One should not, however, get the impression that Sartre is consistently reluctant to take history as seriously as absolute moral freedom. In the Muenzer-like figure of Nasti, he is obviously intent on depicting the continuity of the proletarian revolutionary tradition. In the person of Heinrich, the traitor who is prepared to sacrifice 20,000 men, women and children for the sake of 200 priests, one detects the ethical pretensions of—could it be Camus? And if Sartre somewhat grimly answers the question: do the ends justify the means?, he is at least not righteously negative.

Of the two comedies, **Kean** and **Nekrassov**, the latter would be particularly healthy for the American stage. It is a wild spoof of anti-Soviet chicanery.

—Charles Humboldt

**THE DEVIL AND THE GOOD LORD, and Two Other Plays, by Jean-Paul Sartre. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 438 pp. $5.*

Drawing by Fred Wright

"I can't understand why those Russians don't trust us..."
(The above cartoon appeared in the GUARDIAN Jan. 29, 1953)

WORDS AND THINGS

Psychology & linguistics

ROGER BROWN'S **Words and Things** (The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., $6.75) is a work on the relatively new subject of "psycholinguistics." This is an attempt to coordinate linguistics with experimental psychology. The author is fascinating and knowledgeable when he ranges from the forerunners of human speech in bird and ape calls and the honey bee's directive dances to the history of writing, speech pathologies and the latest in the morphemes and phonemes into which the linguists have analyzed speech. It is a work for specialists with an off-beat fascination for the layman. But even for specialists some of the sociologists' jargon seems far out. Sample: "When some value of an attribute is used as a basis for inferring the category membership of the object then that attribute is to some degree criterial for the categorization."

R. J.

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REPORT FROM JAPAN
Hear **Farrell Dobbs**, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, on his return from Tokyo as a participant at the Sixth World Conference Against A and H-Bombs. 8:30 p.m., Saturday, August 13, Embassy North Hall, 839 South Grand Ave. Adm. $1—Auspices: **Socialist Workers Party.**

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THE GALLERY

THE KENNEDY nomination, says union leader Harry Bridges in the ILWU **Dispatcher,** "was stamped by one feature arrogance . . . displayed in the manipulation of the Democratic Party by a combination of money, threats, and promises that poured out in a steady stream." Noting that Kennedy has support of AFL-CIO and Negro leaders, Bridges observes that "not one of the labor-hating, Negro-baiting venal Southern politicians, including Eastland, have said or will say a single word against Kennedy." He charges a deal between Kennedy and the labor brass: "They would back his anti-labor bill and support him for President—if he would promise to go easy on AFL-CIO unions and use the sharp edge of the anti-labor law against ILWU and the Teamsters. The bankruptcy of the labor leadership is one of the reasons that American working people have so little choice this year and that both national conventions are mere political circuses stage-managed from the wings by Madison Avenue hucksters."

ADS FOR THE COMET "compact" car state: "It's ride has a big-car feel because of its longer wheelbase—114"; an average of 7" longer than the other compacts." . . . Tourists in the Soviet Union this summer find they can rent cars for the first time. The charge is $4 a day plus 5c a kilometer . . . Renting cars will eventually be the mode of travel in the U.S.S.R., according to Premier N. Khrushchev. During his trip to France he said: "We consider that human energy is spent none too wisely on the production of automobiles in the United States. In the future our auto production will develop in this way: We shall increase the output of cars, establishing a wide system of rental garages. When anyone needs a car he will go to a garage, rent it and go wherever he wants. When he is finished with it, he will return it to the garage and will have no further cares. A proprietorial capitalist way of using cars does not suit us. We shall introduce the socialist method." . . . From **Life** magazine on a record album of auto racing comment and noise: "You listen to the sound of a Ferrari going into a corner, and as the revs drop the exhaust begins to crackle and snap—and maybe this is corny, but when you hear it you get the same kind of chill you get sometimes when you hear the **Star-Spangled Banner** being played."

Wall Street Journal
"Gordon here has developed a new car which you use once and then throw away!"

NEW YORK, wealthiest city in the world, wants $16,800 from a family which collected that much in relief from 1954 until they won $28,000 in the Irish Sweepstakes with a ticket on third-place Kythnos this year . . . The Gilberts of Vancouver, B.C., who won $140,000 with a ticket on the Grand National winner, Merryman II, deny they have bought a fleet of pink Cadillacs. True, Nora, 35, quit her department store job, but Elwin, 38, is staying on as a brewery worker. They splurged on a 3-bedroom house, have banked the rest.

AMONG NUDISTS, as we are given to understand, the Prometheans cult goes all out, as against the Epimetheans who go in for fig-leaves or some such. In any case it appears that disagreement over what to wear saved the Union Theological Seminary in New York from being the July rendezvous for 500 nudist cult priestesses who planned to go from there en masse to sun bathe in Central Park . . . . The National Guardians of Health League (no kin, but headed by a GUARDIAN subscriber, Dr. John T. Heinrichson) wants one of its clubs planted in every U.S. community and calls upon doctors to take the lead: Suite 1811, 17 N. State St., Chicago . . . . In his magazine **Prevention,** hygienist J. I. Rodale calls misleading the classic answer to the question, "What are little girls made of?" Instead of "Sugar and spice and everything nice" he says the answer should be "A and B and especially C." A more nutritious diet, he says, than sugar and spice or ginger bread cottages. And the diet of Handy-Spandy, Jack-Dandy, instead of plum cake and sugar candy should have been blackstrap molasses and honey . . . An East Orange, N.J., cancer expert says that filter cigarettes merely give you filtered cancer.

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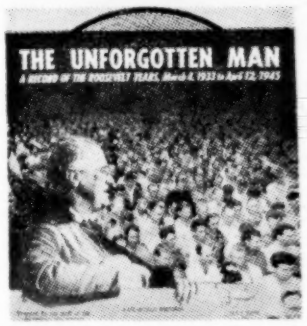

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NEWSPAPER

SMITH ACT VICTIM

Winston parole again sought

THE CASE of Henry Winston, one of the three Communists still in prison under the Smith Act, was again reviewed before the U.S. Board of Parole July 28 in another attempt to win his freedom. Winston, in prison since March, 1956, became blind as the result of a brain tumor. He was operated on last February in Montefiore Hospital in New York. Strong arguments for his release are medical reports that indicate he now needs systematic education in techniques for the blind. These can be obtained only outside a prison hospital on Staten Island (where he now is) from professional organizations and by association with his family.

John J. Abt, counsel for Winston, is seeking to enjoin the government from returning him to prison on the grounds that it would be a violation of the constitutional provision against "cruel and unusual punishment."

LOS ANGELES

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MARTIN HALL
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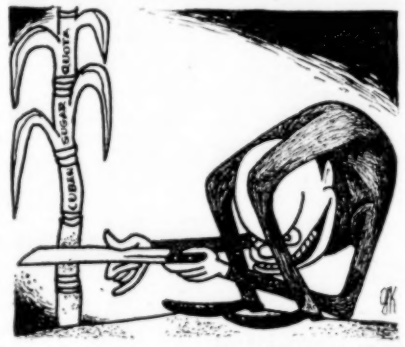
the SPECTATOR

Pursuit of happiness

HAVANA

YOU ARE SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE, they told us at the airport on the west coast of Florida when we arranged for our flight to Miami with one to Cuba. Eisenhower had only the day before cut the sugar quota, and for more than a year now the Florida papers had been printing stories and editorials designed to frighten away the tourist trade to Cuba. (There are stories current in Florida that American women are stripped at Havana when going through Cuban customs.)



Drawing by Korf

Cutting the sugar quota

The last of the direct flights to Cuba from Florida's west coast were canceled that week and, despite what Tampa's Latins reported favorably about Cuba, we could not help feel, although self-consciously, that perhaps we were being adventurous. In Miami we were the only Americans on the plane who were tourists.

At the Havana airport, our plane was met by a rhumba trio, and we went through customs drinking free daiquiris from the Bacardi people. But right at the airport we knew that we were in a Havana that would not please wealthy tourists who used to come to gamble at the fabulous new hotels in the Vedado section of Havana or to lie on the beach at Varadero: everywhere there were signs quoting Castro and answering Eisenhower. They were signed by the unions or fraternal groups who'd put them up, and they were immediate and surface evidence on the lush and beautiful landscape of Cuba that the American tourist will have to deal on terms of equality with the Cuban people.

"Our problem is that we love Americans as we love Cubans," a militia man said to us in the crowd in front of the Presidential Palace the following afternoon where Castro was due to speak. "We know what Americans are like. We have seen them here, and we love them like brothers, but if you send your army, we shall fight until we are dead."

WE WERE IN THE MIDST of a sea of humanity. Occasionally, the cry, "Cuba si, Yanquis no!" would arise, and everyone around us would turn and assure us that they did not mean us or the American people, just our government.

We spent eight days in Cuba, and because we spoke Spanish, we had innumerable conversations in buses, restaurants, cooperatives, on the streets—everywhere, in fact, that we went, for Cubans are a talkative people. Cuba is bathed in a sea of "explanations" and discussions.

Yet in the midst of talk the work completed and under way is enormous. The Cuban government appears to be moving forward on every front at once. There are new housing, new parks, new theatres, new museums, reconstructions of historic sites; the opening up of the beaches and inland playgrounds to the people; and, of course, the cooperatives and the collectively-run industries. Late into the night the work goes on, and it's a common sight to see Cubans who have volunteered their time planting trees and shrubbery along the streets and highways. None of this work is slapdash; they have imaginative architects, inventive gardeners, exquisitely-skilled furniture makers.

ALL OF THIS GOES FORWARD in an atmosphere of gaiety and friendliness that is remarkable even for Americans to experience. The traditional amiability, courtesy and warmth of the Cubans have been unleashed by the revolution, so that it is a real pleasure to see, even in the midst of thousands standing in the hot sun to hear Castro speak, what good temper, concern for each other, and interest in each individual the Cubans exhibit.

The headwaiter of an elegant restaurant, like Las Floridas in the old city, will tell you with tears in his eyes why the conditions of the countryside must be changed. No one tells you what he personally suffered under the Batista regime; they tell you what their friends and neighbors suffered. At the fishermen's cooperative at Puerto Esperanza, one of the men pointed to the poor houses along the bay and said: "Come in another year, and we will have changed the looks of all this. Meanwhile, we have a health clinic and a beach pavilion, and the fishermen have their own boats to fish and trucks to cart the catch to Havana." He added with a big smile: "And the people have happiness."

THEY KNOW, HOWEVER, what they may have to pay for all this. A peasant woman at the San Vicente farming cooperative, near the fairyland mountains and valley of Vinales, showed us the modern new houses to which her family had moved a month before from a "bohio," the small thatched huts without electricity, running water or sanitary facilities in which the poor have lived.

She stood under the "sacred heart" print of Christ in her living room and talked of her new house and her sons whom the revolution had saved from misery. "They cannot take this away from us," she said. She threw out her left arm and with her right hand pointed to the crook of her arm where the blue veins were prominent. "Every last drop of blood will I give to Fidel."

—Felix Gutierrez